

6

DIRECTIONS
TO THE
ELECTORS

OF THE *English*
Ensuing PARLIAMENT,

Which is to MEET on

Tuesday the 30th of December,

Agreeable to the late *ADDRESSES*
Presented to his Majesty.

Printed in the Year, 1702.



DIRECTIONS TO THE ELECTORS OF THE Ensuing PARLIAMENT.

ELECTING Members to Serve their Country in Parliament, being an Affair of such Grand importance to the Welfare of the Kingdom in General, and of every individual Person inhabiting in it: All the Care, Caution, Deliberation and Circumspection imaginable, ought to be employ'd in so weighty a Concernment; For otherwise like an Error in the first Concoction, the Evils that attend an undue or faulty Election, are never to be remedied during the Session of that Parliament, which an Unqualified, and consequently an Unworthy Person is Chosen for: Therefore as Diseases either in the Body Politick or Natural, are more easily prevented than cur'd, I thought it would be a necessary piece of Service to my Country, to offer to their serious Considerations, such Rules for direct-

ing their Choice of Members, as may render the Nation happy under the Wise Councils of Prudent, Thoughtful and Irreproachable Legislators: Such as entirely resolve to maintain the Honour and Safety of the *English* Interest, in Opposition to all those Degenerate, Self-Interested Persons that endeavour the contrary: Who, if they can but feather their own Neasts by complying with Foreign or Domestick Seditions, care not if they leave the whole Kingdom naked, to the Depredations, Insults and Encroachments of the worst of its Enemies: Who never think themselves well but when they are doing *England* some Notorious Injury.

Now *Gentlemen, Citizens, Yeomen, Burghers, and Freeholders*; to Regulate your selves in this Matter agreeable to your Characters, your true Interests, and the Trust that our happy Constitutions has reposed in you; It will first be necessary to give a true Notion of the Design of *Parliaments* in their Original Institution, that they may neither be over nor undervalu'd by any undermining Pretences whatsoever. This Noble Assembly in a National Representative, under some Name or other, is as Ancient as the first Plantation of the Island, and was Primarily design'd:

First, For a Support to the Legal Prerogative inherent to the Kings and Crown of *England*; that it might not be Diminish'd or Extended to the Prejudice of the Monarchy, or the Just Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects of *England*, whose Interests are or ought to be bound up in the same Volumn: And also to be a happy Poize and Balance between the two Extreame of an Absolute Monarchy, and a Popular Anarchy.

Secondly, For a Check to the Extravagant and Lawless Proceedings of Haughty, Insolent, Avaritious Ministers, and Ambitious Statesmen; who otherwise would Govern by the Dictates of their own Wills, Misinform the King, and Oppress all below them at their Pleasures.

Third-



1
2
3

4
5
6
7
8
9
10

11
12
13
14
15

16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Thirdly, For giving their best and wholsomest Advices to His Majesty, in all Matters of Publick Concernment, as they relate to a Parliamentary Cognizance, without interfering in such things as do not ;

Fourthly, For making Necessary Laws for the Preservation and Improvement of our Constitution, to the Advantage of our Common Interest ; and Repealing such, as by Time or the Alteration of Affairs are grown Obsolete ; of no Use, or Burthensom and Vexatious to the Subject.

Fifthly, For giving the King necessary Supplies of Money, to defray the Expences of the Government, or for carrying on a Necessary War against Foreign or Domestick Enemies, and to keep the Nation in such a Posture of Defence, that we may not be Surprised and Ruin'd for want of Power to make Resistance.

Sixthly, For examining and adjusting the Publick Receipts and Disbursements ; that no Frauds may be committed by Those or their Agents, that are intrusted with the Nations Stock ; but that every Sum may be apply'd to its right Use, and run in the same Channel to which it was appropriated by the King and Parliament.

And *lastly*, To make all the Security imaginable, for the Preservation of His Majesty's, Safety, Honour, Royal Dignity, and Authority ; and the Subject's Ease, Liberty and Property.

This being the Nature and true Design of a Parliament, it naturally indicates the Great Care and Caution that should be employ'd in the Choice of your Representatives ; since all our Calamities in former Reigns, some of which are still hovering over our Heads, have been inflicted upon us by Parliaments. Not to mention the War in the Reign of *Charles* the First, with all the dismal Consequences, that enslav'd the Nation to the Merciless Tyranny of our Fel-

low Subjects. It was the House of Commons in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, to whom the Formidable Greatness of *France* is owing, and to their Account may be plac'd the prodigious Expences of the late War; since by their Remissness, that Nation was put into a Capacity to War with almost all *Europe* Confederated against them. It was by those Members of Parliament that Money was given to make a Collusive War with *France*, which in the mean time was employ'd in Crushing Subjects at home, or Oppressing our Protestant Neighbours abroad. To them may be ascrib'd the Growth of Popery, the Decay of Trade, the Resurrection of Arbitrary Power, the Progress of all sorts of Debaucheries, and in a manner, the utter Extirpation of Virtue and Moral Honesty.

These, and all the other Mischiefs of that Reign, are justly chargeable to the Account of that Pensionary *Parliament*, who either were the immediate Authors or the undoubted Causes of them; who, tho' they sat long and often, and could not be ignorant of the deplorable Condition of the Kingdom; yet having their Eyes blinded with the Dust of *French* and *English* Gold, and their Tongues lock'd up with Silver Keys, they durst not cry out for the Rescue of their Country, thus inhumanly Ravish'd in their very presence, and ready to be Enslav'd, under the Yoke of an Aspiring King in our own Neighbourhood: And tho' we cannot charge King *James's* open Violation of Laws upon any *Parliament* sitting in His Reign; yet 'tis manifest He reapt all His Advantages from the Conduct of the *Parliament* in His Brother's Reign, and therefore us'd all possible Endeavour, to procure such another for Himself, as the most effectual means to carry on his Destructive Projects; tho' either from the unshaken Constancy of the People, or want of Dexterity in His Ministers, he was wholly disappointed in his Expectation.

Now

Now that we may not again run the Risque of Splitting upon the same Rock, it immediately Concerns you that are the Electors of Members to sit in *Parliament*, to lay aside all private *Respects* and *Interests*, and to discharge this Trust with all the Justice, Candor, and Integrity imaginable: In which you cannot want Opportunity; For no man stands a Candidate for that Honour, but has all his Faults from his Cradle written in his Forehead, or thrown into his Dish, at such a time, tho' they were conceal'd from all the World before: Then his *Religion*, his *Party*, his *Company*, his *Conversation*, his *manner of Life* both at home and abroad, in City or Country; His Estate, his Debts, and his Understanding, (which is commonly the last thing enquir'd into) are all expos'd to publick Censure; while his Friends are magnifying the Excellent Quality of his being a Good House Keeper, and Feasting all his Tenants and Neighbours at *Christmas* with good Provision, Humming Liquor, and a Noise of Fiddlers.

'Tis a Jest to say every Man's Character is not known quite through the Country where he lives, especially upon every such Occasion: And therefore the Choice of a Man, Unfit for the Honour of being a Member of that Venerable Assembly, does immediately reflect upon the Understandings or Integrity of the Electors.

What mean and contemptible Apprehensions have Strangers of some Boroughs and other Places in *England*, when they take their Measures of the Inhabitants, from the Qualifications of the Members they send to *Parliament*, which always gives them the Credit of a Good Choice, or the Scandal of a Bad one. The Creators in spite of Fate or Apology, will be thought like the Creatures that Represent them, to the Credit or Disparagement of their Understandings or their Morals. Choice signifies Approbation, and Grants the same Characters.

raſters upon the Electors, as is merited by the Perſons they Elect.

Therefore *Gentlemen* for your own Credit ſake, Remember what you are about, when you are to chuſe Members of Parliament: It is a National Truſt. The Welfare of the whole Kingdom depends upon it, and he is unworthy of the Name of an *Engliſhman*, that for a ſmall Reward, a Meals Meat, a Debauch, or to procure the Favour of ſome Great Man, will ſell his Vote, and it may be his Country at ſo Cheap a Rate; for if the Great Man that governs your Mouth at an Election, be a Good Man, he will think the better of you, for Voting according to your Conſciences, and if he be an Ill Man, 'tis not worth the while to diſoblige your Country and Conſciences to humour him, in the Choice of perſons that are too like himſelf to be fit to ſend to *Weſtmiſter*.

Poſſibly ſome of you are Tenants, or ſome way or other Dependants upon a Perſon of Quality, and you dare not diſpleaſe him in Voting: Then 'tis pity but that Privilege ſhould be taken from you, that dare be unjuſt, and what in you lies betray your Country to pleaſe any Mortal; for next to a Man's Salvation, the Welfare of his Country ought to ſupercede all other Obligations, and be Deareſt in his Eſteem; and therefore you cannot on this ſolemn Oceaſion, diſcharge your Duty to it; but by giving your Votes for Men; *Fiſt*,

Truly fearing God, for they will neither do, nor conſent to any thing that is unjuſt in its own Nature, or which by direct conſequence is Prejudicial to the Rights, and Privileges of the meaneſt Subject. Where Religion and Ver-tue Governs the Heart and Guides the Conſcience, that Man cannot be Corrupted or Byaſſ'd by any Pretences, to Act againſt the true Intereſt of his Country, or contrary to the
great

great End for which he was Elected. I will not shew my self so much a Man of any Party, as to say among the various sorts of Protestants, what Religion a Member of Parliament should profess; they have told us that themselves, by entitling one above the rest, to be call'd the National Religion: tho' this I will be so bold to say, he ought to be of some Religion, and Eminent and Sincere in it too, that is invested with the Authority of giving Laws to the whole Kingdom. He that is of no Religion stands like a Weather Cock, ready to be turned to any prevailing Party. He that is a *Latitudinarian* and of every Religion that does not interfere with his Secular Interest; is truly of none at all, and neither of these by any Sober Men will be thought worthy of that Great Trust to be the Nations Legislators; since 'tis sorrowfully observ'd by all Good Men, that 'tis the Contempt, Decay and Want of Religion that has infatuated our Prudence, stagger'd our Constancy, Sullied our Reputation, and introduc'd almost a Total Defection from all true *English* Virtue; for Religion (as a Great Man has observ'd) has such a Superiority above other things, and that indispensable Obligation upon all Mankind, that 'tis as necessary to our Living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Sav'd in the next. All things succeed where it Governs, nothing prospers where it is slighted and neglected; and therefore ought to be the first Consideration in giving your Votes.

Secondly, Your Representatives in Parliament should be of known, approv'd and steady Loyalty to the best of Kings, who not to mention his Nearness in Blood, is supported by the best of Titles, *viz.* The General Consent and Election of the People. Unity and Concord are the Essential Cements of Government, and make the whole so entirely of the same Piece, that all our Enemies can never make a Fraction in it; but if you send up those to *Parliament*, that only study to

divide us, and procure themselves to be Elected that they may say that within Doors, that an honest Man dares not think without; that contend for Popular Omnipotency to lessen the Royal Authority, and take away the power of Rewarding and punishing, to gratify a few Male-contented and close-fisted Misers; they may distinguish themselves by a restless Course of finding Faults where none appear, but never will or can do their King and Country Service. We want Men at this Juncture of pacifick Tempers, that will close up all our Breaches and Differences at home, that they may be at leisure to fore-see and prevent the Troubles that are preparing to be given us from abroad; and not such who, like the *Frog* and the *Mouse* in the Fable, that were contending for the Sovereignty of the Fens, Quarrel with some other Party, till they come to be devour'd by the *Kite*; For this is every days Experience, where Hot and Unwary Men begin a Squabble, there commonly lies a Crafty Knave at Lurch to reap the Benefit of it. *Thirdly,*

Those Persons you chuse to be the Conservators of our Laws, and the Guardians of our Liberties, should be Men that unfeignedly love, and resolve to Defend the true Interest of their Country, against all that attempt to Rob them of the Rights and Priviledges of *English Free Born Subjects*: Which words (by the Way) if truly and jointly interpreted, would put an end to all Illegal Competitions, and unwarrantable Comparisons; Being *Born Free* puts an end to all pretences of an Arbitrary Power in the Monarch; and being *Born Subjects*, keeps us in our own Sphere as Subjects, without Aspiring to a Popular Sovereignty. Every Man is safe while he moves in his own proper Orb, but *Phaeton's* Fate attends all that are Excentrick. I say your Representatives should be such as love their Country, and have no other end in being chosen Members of Parliament but to serve it faithfully;

fully ; not such as make it a step to their own Preferment and to fill their own Pockets with the Wages of Unrighteousness. Doing Good is its own Reward, and he that proposes any other in procuring himself to be Elected a Representative in Parliament, is Unworthy of the Honour of sitting in that Assembly: Let him recruite his Estate by contracting his Expences, and not by Robbing and Impoverishing the Nation.

Bribery in this kind is Arraigned in every Pamphlet, and City and Country fill'd with Loud Complaints against the Court for giving great Sums to Members of *Parliament*, nay some of that Honourable House themselves have reckon'd this Crime in the Number of their Grievances, and have not been sparing in bitter Reflections upon the Court for doing it; but in Submission to better Judgments, I think they misplace their Quarrel; for if it be true, I presume they know the Persons that receiv'd those Bribes, and then the Remedy would be easy; for punishing the *Receivers* would soon put a Stop to the Givers, and so stigmatize the Guilty Members in the places they Serve for, that there would be no fear of their ever enjoying the Benefit of a new Election; but at last, if this infamous *Report* should not be true, or the Proof should not be as apparent as the Reproach is publick, no small Matter would be able to make Satisfaction for the Scandal.

Fourthly, The Persons you Elect, if you intend to discharge your Duty Honestly, ought to be Men of Competent Years and sound Understandings, well read in the History of their own, and the Governments, Customs and Manners of Foreign Nations. In *England* we call a Man at Age when he has arriv'd to One and twenty; but in most other places of the World not till Five and twenty, and I can see no reason why before that Age at least, a Youngster should be

be capable of being Elected to Parliament; For, tho' perhaps it is inconvenient enough that a Man should be so soon let lose to destroy his own Estate; its worse that he should have a power of giving away other Men's. The main reason of first sending these *Minors* to *Parliament*, was to instruct them in the Knowledge of being Serviceable to their Country, and it might do well enough in former Ages, when the *Parliament* had little else to do when they met, but to Attaint a Criminal, present a Roll of Grievances, and leave them to be Redress'd if the King thought it convenient; to Confirm *Magna Charta* and the Priviledges of Holy Church, Raise Money, Settle the Succession of the Crown as directed by the King, and then return again into the Country, till more Money was wanted at Court; but now Parliaments are grown quite other things than they were in those days: There are Reasons and Maxims of State to be Debated; The Conveniences and Inconveniences of every Bill to be Argued; which require Learning, Knowledge, Experience, and a Profound Sagacity in discussing before they are pass'd, which formerly were sent them generally from the Court ready Drawn, to be put into Acts, without Alterations or Amendments. Now there are Evils to be foreseen and prevented, Grievances to be Redress'd, the Governments to be Secured, Mismanagements to be Examined and Punished, Property to be Asserted, and Money to be Appropriated as well as Raised; with numberless things of great Weight and Consequence, that casually fall under Dispute, and require the Wisest Heads in the Nation to Determine: Wholly unfit for *Minors*, that understand nothing but Plays, Pulvilio's, Dress and Garniture, and had rather the whole Kingdom was out of Order than one Curl of their Perukes.

Nor does the Dislike of these Slight, Airy, Fantastical Superfine Sparks, Recommend to your Choice, Dull, Flegmatick,

matick, Heavy Headed Animals, that have a Universal Lethargy spread over their Understandings, tho' they are of greater Age; for as a Brisk Coxcomb never fails to set up for a Wit, so a Blockhead is apt to pretend that his Heaviness is a proof of his Judgment; when in truth, both their Upper Rooms are utterly unfurnish'd, and want Capacities to entitle them to be Legislators. It is an Astonishment to Mankind, to see the Confidence of some empty Skuls, that have scarce three Grains of Common Sense above an Ideot, yet with great Assurance aspire to this Honour. And 'tis no less a Wonder, that the Majority of any Borough in *England*, should have so little Wit and less Honesty as to chuse them.

Fifthly, Let the the *Gentlemen* you intrust with a Commission to treat for you in Parliament, be Men of Integrity, Honesty, and Upright dealing in the World, and not tainted with the Guilt of any Scandalous Enormity. A known ill Man is a Scandal to any Society, but intolerable in a House of Commons. For a Man that is a common Oppressor of his Neighbours, to giye Rules for the execution of Justice; for a Litigious Wretch that is continually vexing the Country with Law Sutes, to be exalted into a Priviledge of not being Sued himself, and for a Man that Defrauds all he deals with, by running into Debt with a Resolution never to pay any Body, that either he can Wheedle or Frighten out of their Money or Goods: for him to talk of Liberty and Property at *Westminster*, is a Scandal to the very Words, that ought not to be prophan'd by so unjust a Man: For a habitual breaker of the Laws, and a violator of the common Rules of Equity, to be made One of our Law Makers, is as if the Benches in *Westminster-Hall* should be fill'd with Men out of *Newgate*. Those who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of respect to their Country; but on the contrary will less Scruple to do Wrong to a Nation, where

no body takes it to himself, than to particular Men, to whose Resentments they are more immediately expos'd: For a Man to be Chosen into Parliament for a Protection from paying just Debrs, is altogether as Scandalous, as that a Tradesman dares not ask his Money of him, for fear of being committed for Breach of Priviledge. Will you chuse such Men as these, have a care, take heed what you do, for they lie under such strong Objections, that the Over-balance of better Men, cannot altogether purify an Assembly where these ill Men are admitted.

The only Remedy therefore that remains to cure this Grievance, is to Chuse such a Parliament as may lie under no such Scandalous Characters; but such as are Untainted in their Morals, and act by no other Motives in their Desires to be Chosen but the Real and True Interest of His Majesty and his Dominions; a Parliament that will fall immediately upon Publick Business, and be free from those petty Factions and personal Piques, which in some Sessions so shamefully obstructed and delay'd the most important Service of the Kingdom.

In the Sixth place, it would be of very great use, for you Good Men that have the Power and Honour of Electing, to take a general Resolution thro' the Kingdom, that none should be chosen for any County or Burrough, but such as have either in Possession or Reversion a Considerable Estate, that they may lie under no Temptation to dishonest Practices; For as such Men are by Vertue of a Generous Education, presumed to be as well, if not better qualified than others of meaner Fortune and Extraction; so certainly the Interest of the Kingdom is best plac'd in the Hands of such Gentlemen as have the Greatest Shares in it; Men in Want and under Necessitous Circumstances, give such cause of Suspicion when ever they deal, that certainly the Chusers will

will be upon their Guard, as soon as such dangerous Pretenders make application to them; for let their Conversations be never so plausible and unspotted, yet they who are to pitch upon those they are to trust with all they have, may be excused, if they do not only consider what they are, but what they may be, when Opportunity offers to salve up the Breaches in their Credit, and Relieve their Necessities.

When a Man is Much in Debt, has but a small Estate, a Numerous Family, more Children than Tenants, or which is worse, an Incurable Extravagancy in his manner of Living, his Circumstances have so prepar'd him for Corruption; that he must in this degenerate Age, be more than Man, and act'd by a higher Principle than governs the Generality of Middle Mankind, that is able to withstand the Temptation of raising himself at the Charge of the Publick; where he is safe from the Clamours of any particular Man that he has Injured.

Possibly there may be some such Men among us whose Vertue will Surmount and Triumph over their Necessities, and scorn to stoop to any base Practices, tho' it were to gain an Empire; for I will not deny but a Poor Man may be Honest, yet to expose the Publick to the Hazard of being deceiv'd, and leading Needy Men into Temptation, can never be accounted for by those that are Electors; for tho' they prove the first Rate of *Englishmen*, it was more than they had ground to believe, or reason to depend upon.

Lastly, Let the Gentlemen you Chuse be such as understand the True Interest of *England*, in relation to our Affairs at Home and Abroad: Not such narrow Soul'd Animals, as Dream there needs no Accession to be made to the Wealth or Grandeur of *England*, but by what arises from the Product of their Lands, and following the Plow Tail; but of such Nobler and enlarged Capacities, as knowing our being environ'd

environ'd by the Sea, was not intended by God and Nature only to be gaz'd at, but to be made use of to the Advantage of the whole Kingdom: Such as know that our Scituation in an Island, tells we must subsist by Trade and Merchandize, and therefore will make all imaginable Provision by good Laws to Support and Encourage it; being experimentally and conscienciously sensible, that to suffer our Trade to Decay, or to be Encroach'd upon and Monopoliz'd by our more Prudent and Industrious Neighbours, is to puniard the Body Politick, to Wound every Limb, and let out the Heart Blood of the whole Kingdom. What is it but our Trade that provides for our younger Children; that upon all Exigencies of State supplies the Publick with ready Money, and makes us considerable through all parts of the Universe; who otherwise would be as contemptible, poor, Sneaking Creatures, as our Neighbouring Bog-Trotters, who are confin'd to a Cow and a *Puttato* Garden, and expos'd to all the Miseries of Sloth and Idleness. Trade then being so advantageous to the Interest of *England*, be sure to Chuse such a *Parliament* as will promote it, and not like others, who, when *Bills* have been brought into the House for that purpose, have adjourn'd the Debate of them from day to day (to give place to some inconsiderable Piques) and at length quite dropt them.

Again, your Representatives should be such, as understand the Interest of *England* in relation to Affairs abroad; such well read and clear-sighted Gentlemen as can discern Troubles at a distance, and as readily apply their Heads and Hands to prevent them, not such as can see no farther than the end of their Noses, and employ their Talents only in finding Faults at home, without vouchsafing to look or think what they are doing on the other side the Water; from whom we must expect Troubles as often as they are Able to give us any.

That

That Man must be reckon'd as blind as a Mole, and as insensible as the Stones he treads upon, that does not see there are Clouds hovering abroad big with Thunder, that must fall somewhere, and that there are so many Irons in Neighbouring Fires, as may chance to burn our Fingers, if not our Houses, if we are not provided of Materials to extinguish them. Mischiefs fore-seen are easily remedied; but Sparks tho' rak'd up in the Embers of an honest pretence, may kindle into a Flame if neglected. Time was when *England* was the over-balancing Power of Christendom, either by Inheritance or Conquest; and tho' time has reduc'd us into our own Limits, yet we are so still, when 'tis thought fit to throw in our Weight to turn the Scales to that side where we give our Friendship, and it concerns us to keep this Power in our hands to defend our selves, and assist our Neighbours under the same Circumstances, lest any Ambitious Monarch, by new Accessions of Power, should grasp the whole, and either ruin or enslave all *Europe*.

There is an aspiring Prince that has long had an extraordinary passion for *Flanders*, and has employ'd all imaginable Arts to gain her; but thinking it a hard Task while *England* and *Holland* were resolv'd to defend her, he first kindles a War between them, and that neither might ride Admiral in the Narrow Seas, first takes part with *Holland*, and afterward with *England*, till he had made himself Umpire of the Peace. Then he set up a Title to *Flanders* in Right of his Queen, and falls into it with Fire and Sword, which being put to an end by the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, not long after he began another War for the purchase of *Flanders*; and Wheedling, to say no worse, with the Court of *England*, keep us in a stupid Neutrality, and at length, being weary of that War himself, persuades King *Charles* to be Mediator of the Peace at *Nimiguen*, where

Prince was suspected of too much Partiality. Afterward he broach'd his Pretensions upon *Alost*, which if they had not been seconded by a powerful Army, were fit for nothing but to be laugh'd at they were so weak; however, he is said to give over upon principles of Christian Generosity; tho' the true Reason was, that in one of King *Charles's* Memorials, he had the good Luck to put in the Word *Parliament*, and threatening his Brother of *Fr*— with that Word, it broke our own Chains, and oblig'd him to withdraw his Troops out of *Flanders*.

This Digression, Gentlemen, for which I beg your pardon, was only to shew you how apt that Monarch has been to Intrigue, and serve himself of all Advantages to Surprize and Molest his Neighbours; and that if he should have any such Thoughts in his Head now, upon the late Addition to the Grandeur of his Family, what great Advantage it would be to the Security of *England*, that we should have such a *Parliament*, as knowing the Arts: continu'd Designs and Malice of our Enemies, would agree among themselves to Defeat them; in which they have all the Advantage they can desire, in having their Councils Assisted and encouraged, by the most *Auspicious Prince* that ever yet sway'd the *English* Sceptre.

Having thus shewn you what your Representatives ought to be, it remains that I acquaint you what they ought not to be; And first, he ought to be no Vicious or Debauch person; No prophane Swearer and Blasphemer, for such a Mouth as dares dishonour God Almighty, wound his own Soul, and give a leud Example to others, is too foul and unhallow'd to give our Laws to his Country. Men also who are unquiet in their Natures, and Litigious in their Practices, ought to give more than ordinary Proofs of their Integrity, before their Electing into a publick Trust can be justify'd.

Great.

Great Drinkers are very unfit to serve in Parliament, for their Vertue as well as their Understandings, are apt to be drowned in the swelling Tubs of their Bodies, and are very unready when they should be Employ'd in the Publick Service. Wine in its proper Season and Quantity enlivens the Mind, and makes it fit for Business of the greatest Consequence; but to make a Habit of steeping ones Brains in Liquor, is an Argument the Man is a *Sot*, and if he should have the Misfortune to be chosen, ought to be expell'd the House, as too great a Beast to sit in such an Honourable Assembly. Without doubt this Vice was less frequent, when the Wise *Solon* made it one of his Laws, that it was lawful to kill a Magistrate if he was found Drunk. Such a Liberty says the Great *Hallifax*, taken in this Age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible Execution, which lies in your power, *Gentlemen*, to prevent, by chusing Men of known Temperance and of Sober and Vertuous Conversations.

Non Attendance in former Parliaments, is a sufficient Argument against that Gentleman's being Chosen in another; if it be out of Laziness, let him be gratified by staying at Home, for it is very hard a Man should despise a Duty, which perhaps is the only ground of the Respect that is paid him any where. A Petition was preferr'd against a Member of a late *Parliament*, who by Order of the House was to attend in his place at a day appointed: A Friend in the House fearing his Absence might tend to his Prejudice, commands an Officer of the House to give him notice of it, who after enquiry returns with a *non est inventus*; whereupon the Gentleman reprimanded the Messenger, saying he is the most easy to be found of any Man living, at certain Hours in four several places every day, during the whole Session: In Bed every day till Twelve: At the *Blew Posts*

Posts till Four in the Afternoon; at the *Play-House* till Eight at Night: At the *Groom Porters* or the *Chocolat House* till Four next Morning, and then again to his *Couch*. Such Men can never take it ill, if after the first Experiment they are never put on a second Tryal.

Prodigals and Misers are both in the same exclusive predicament, as lying under the same Temptation, tho' for different Ends, the former that he may have enough to Spend, and the latter that he may have enough to Hoard, will at any time fall out with their Morals, when a Booty is to be gain'd by the Quarrel.

But above all, forbear Chusing such Men as are inseparably link'd to a Party or Faction; for they will certainly oppose whatsoever is advanced by a contrary Clan, tho' it be never so reasonable or Beneficial to their Country. There will be a leaning in the best of Men to one side, more than to another; but says my former Author, when Men are drown'd in a Party, plung'd in it beyond their Depth, they run a great Hazard of being upon ill Terms with good Sence or Morality, if not with both of them: Such a Man can never be a free Agent, and for that Reason is very unfit to be trusted with the Peoples Liberty, after he has given up his own; for in Reality they are greater Slaves, than any body else would care to make them: They are so confin'd and encompass'd with a Party, that they can never be enlarg'd nor released, without a Resolution to bear all the Calumnies, and suffer under all the Revenges that an angry Deserted Party can load them with.

The only Freeman in the House of Commons, are such Gentlemen as know no side but our Laws, nor espouse no Interest but that of their Country; for they are always at liberty to Argue Temperately, Examine Diligently, and Determine Faithfully and Justly; whilst others that are Te-

ther'd

ther'd to the Stake of a particular Interest, communicate Anger to one another by Contagion; and as too much Light dazleth the Eye-sight; so their too much Heat weakens their Judgments, Heat reigneth in the Fancy, and Reason which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, takes more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

Wise Men in all Ages have laid it down as Maxim of uncontradicted Verity, that Men ty'd to a Party, never did good in Parliament; for when this Humour reigns in the Kingdom, such poor Spirited and weak Men are sent up, as do nothing but expose themselves and hinder Business: A man can never find where they are, or what they drive at; because they themselves do not know what they would have. Parties in a State are like your *Algerine Pyrates*, they hang out false Colours; their pretences are the Publick Good, their real Business is to advance their private Interests, and to possess themselves of the best Places in the Government, which if they obtain, they bring in such Shoals of the same Clan to after them, as endeavour to turn the World upside down. There would be no end, if one did not stop till this Theme had no more Matter to furnish, I will only say, nothing is more evident, than that the Interest of the Nation has been Sacrific'd to the Animosities of the several Contending Parties; and without entering into the Dispute which of them are more or less in the right; 'tis very sure, that while these Opposite Setts of Angry Men are tossing the Ball, they will break all the Windows, and do more hurt than their pretended Zeal for the Nation will ever make amends for.

In short, Men so engag'd are retain'd before the People take them for their Council; they have such a Reverse for their Party, that it is not advisable for those who Chuse them to depend upon their Promises. *England* and the whole *Protestant* Interest are now at a *Crisis*; possibly such

an ominous Juncture of Affairs, big with threatening Circumstances, never hapen'd before since the Reformation, and if ever there was a time for *Englishmen* and all *Protestants* to Unite, and by Wise Councils prevent the Dangers that Menace them, now is the Critical Minute, that should be employ'd to lay the Foundation of our future Security; and as it is now put into your Hands, so it is hop'd you will make it your Care to Chuse such a *Parliament* as will do it: Our Dangers are already too apparent, for if the *Spanish Netherlands* should fall into the possession of the *French*, either by that Monarch's taking his Grandson's Dominions into his protection, or by the Old Trick of having these Countries yielded up to *France* for an *Equivalent*, the Consequences of such an Event must be Fatal to us, for the Neighbouring Countries of *Juliers Trevers* and *Cölogn*, falling under that Yoke, *Holland* it self, being expos'd on all sides to the formidable Power of *France*, must run the Risque of being absolutely subdued, or of being brought under a State of Vassallage to it, if they do not prevent that Blow, by putting themselves under the Protection of *France*, and then we shall soon find the Holly of all those Boasts, that *England* with a good Fleet is able to defend it self against all the World; but our Representatives in Parliament, being convinc'd of the Weakness of this Pretence in the late War, they exerted all their Abilities to keep the Balance of *Europe* in *English* Hands, and their whole Conduct made, it plainly appear, that as *Europe* could not be then rescued from Slavery, but by the effectual Assistance of *England*, so neither can *England* escape if the rest of *Europe* be enslav'd.

But

But I know some are ready to answer, that these Misfortunes cannot happen if the New King of *Spain* becomes a good *Spaniard*. This is as improbable as that he will turn Protestant; but it is more than likely he will and must follow the directions of *France*, for his Title is not so strong, but that he who made it can as soon dissolve it, if *D'Aujou* should grow Ruffish and Unmanageable, to which I may add an Argument of the greatest Force in the World; That a false Zeal for Religion which *France* blindly follows, and which prevails no less among the Begot *Spaniards*, will be a powerful Motive to Unite these two Crowns in the same Measures and Interests, and set them upon the Ruin of all they call *Hereticks*; especially where that gives them a Prospect of carrying on the whole Trade of *Europe* between them.

All our Hopes and Expectations of Succour, lies in the Choice of a Good *Parliament*, a Terrible Word in *France*, as well as the Name of our renounc'd Prince, who sits at the Helm of Affairs: For such a *Parliament* will never suffer us to sit Idle, and Tamely expect our Destiny; but will make use of those Remedies we have still in reserve against our Enemies.

Now, to follow the common Method employ'd on this Occasion, should come to mention Men of particular Callings, that in the Opinion of some, are to be excluded from your Choice, by virtue of the Employments they fill in the Government: Such are *Courtiers*, *Officers* in the Army, and Common *Lawyers*; but as this would defeat the main Design of this Paper, which insists only upon the Qualifications of Men to be Chosen, so I shall not be guilty of so much ill Manners, as to suggest a Scandal upon Men under those Denominations; since I am of Opinion there are Men of great Sincerity in them All, and therefore shall conclude
this

this *Premonition*, by conjuring my Countrymen to Choose Men truly Fearing God, Loyal to their King, Lovers of their Country, Sound in their Understandings, Just in their Dealings, Peaceable in their Tempers, and Exemplary in their Conversation; for they will preserve their Characters in every Employment, and do nothing that may dishonour themselves, or reflect upon the Persons that Elected them.



F I N I S.

Now, to follow the common Method employ'd on this Occasion, should come to mention More of a secular Call- ings, than in the Opinion of some, are to be excluded from your Choice, by virtue of the Employment they fill in the Government: Such are *Commissaries, Officers in the Army, and Common Lawyers*; I need not say, that I have not forgot of this Paper, which insists only upon the Qualifications of Men to be Chosen, but I shall not be guilty of so much ill Manners, as to suggest a scandal upon Men under those Denominations; since I am of Opinion there are Men of great Sincerity in them All, and therefore shall conclude this